425
423
183
556
(131)

given to one's sons. However, in times of extended drought and famine as in the mid 'forties and again in the late 'fifties, selling of land and migration to the urban centers have taken place on a fairly wide scale. In such a situation the property owner can sell to a stranger but he must give relatives first option and, if they are unwilling to exercise their right, he should give the option to someone inside the community. To buy land under such conditions is considered not only honorable but a community service in that it maintains the integrity of the community by preventing outsiders from becoming members. However, neither the buyer nor the community regards such a purchase as speculation for economic profit. Rather, they see it as community service and a socially approved method of advancing one's children. The acquisition of land under such circumstances is not a part of the motivation system based on profit but part of the same complex which includes social duty and community solidarity.

Land is, of course, one of the factors of production. But whether the Riffian regards this aspect as being the primary attribute of land can be questioned. A man of my acquaintance whose grandfather and father had made sizable land purchases held at the time more land than he could profitably cultivate and manage. Yet he was quite ashamed that he had not been able to buy more land so as to increase the legacy for his own children. To him the economic value of the land was secondary to its pres-

000 tige function. Nash's remark about property among the Maya

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

R 101 619 197 [443] [199] presence of an influential family of *shurfa*, alleged descendants of the Prophet, who encouraged a shift from Berber to Arabic speech. Rifian is spoken in the hamlet of the Aith Azza, but the weekly market of Targist has functioned traditionally as a trading center for the Sanhajan tribes, especially Zarqat. The Aith Mazduwi also appear to be of mixed origin, for both the Sanhajan and Rifian dialects are spoken by this tribe.

R S 619 101 [631] [197] Sanhajans and Ghmarans generally regard all tribes to the east of them as Rifian, but among the Aith Bu Yihyi and other tribes of the Kert and Moulouya valleys this appellation is restricted to the tribes of the basin of Wad Nkour. It is useful to think of a zone of transition between the "true Rif"—Aith Wariyaghar, Ibuqquyen, Aith Ammarth, Igzinnayen, Aith Tuzin, Thimsaman—and the eastern frontier of the northern zone. The Ulad Stut are intrusive bedawin, like the Khlut of the Atlantic littoral. The remaining tribes may be described as "eastern Rifians." Two minor confederations are recognized within this group. The first, "Iqar'ayen" in Rifian and "Gal'aya" in Arabic, includes five tribes: Aith Bu Ifrur, Aith Sidar, Imazujen, Aith Bu Gafar, and Aith Shikar. The second, called "Garet" or "Gart" in Arabic, is formed of Ibdharsen and Aith Bu Yihyi. The dialect of the Aith Iznasen is intelligible to most Rifians, but there seems to be general agreement that the Rif, even in a broad sense, does not extend beyond Wad Moulouya.

Land and Livelihood

R 133 In the total context of geography, northern Morocco should be described as an isolated and generally inhospitable area. Moving from the Atlantic coast toward the east, the traveler is confronted with an abrupt transition from alluvial plains and terraces to a wild and chaotic zone of steep slopes and narrow ridges. The eastern lowlands are more favorable from a physiographic point of view, but the Rif chain creates a rain shadow, and the tribesmen of the eastern Rif, Garet, and Gal'aya suffer from meager and erratic rainfall. Cut off to the south by the Rif chain and to the north by inhospitable coasts, northern Morocco cannot compare with Greece, Italy, southern France, or Andalusia as a breeding place for advanced civilization. It is a rampart and a place of refuge.

R 241 [197] The tribesmen of northern Morocco share an agricultural heritage derived in part from contacts with Phoenicians, Romans, Arabs, and Europeans. Farming methods are primitive, for the mountain tribes learned centuries ago how to grow the maximum amount of food on tiny terraces, and the size of their fields and the steepness of slopes discourage mechanization. Barley and wheat constitute the most important crops. Wherever water is available for irrigation, the cereals, which are dry-farmed, are supplemented by summer crops of maize, legumes, and vegetables. Horticulture provides precious additional food, and during the spring, when cereal stocks are low, raisins, figs, and nuts are staples. In the semiarid lowlands east of the Rif chain, only cereal farming is possible, and famine may be experienced when rains are meager or arrive too late. The great seasonal migration from this area toward the French farms of eastern Algeria resulted from an imbalance between population and food supply.

R [243] [731] [221]

B S 241 182 Variations in crop combinations and diet are partly conditioned by environmental factors, and hence will be considered in greater detail in chapter ii. A

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

surplus food for lean years. Many tribesmen, especially the Rifians and the inhabitants of Garet and Gal'aya, live under the constant threat of famine. Every failure of the cereal crop causes great suffering. Even with resources developed to the limit, these areas would still be unable to provide full employment or full nutrition for their expanding populations. The rate of population growth through-

TABLE 5

VALUE OF TRADE AT REGIONAL MARKETS IN 1949

Market	Volume of trade (pesetas)
Jbala—Lukkus	
Sebt Bani Said	43,000,000
Tlata Jbil Habib	89,000,000
Jema Zinat	80,000,000
Khemis Anjra	60,000,000
Tnine Sidi Yamani	117,000,000
Tlata Reisana	102,000,000
Sebt Bani Gurfat	82,500,000
Arba Aicha	68,500,000
Ghmara—Sanhaja as-Srair	
Had Bani Dercul	57,000,000
Tlata Bani Hmid	84,000,000
Tlata Ktama	65,000,000
Arba Targist	166,000,000
Rif—Garet—Gal'aya	
Tlata Aith Hadhifa	88,000,000
Arba Turirth	122,000,000
Tnine Aith Bu Ayyash	109,000,000
Tnine Aith Ammarth	65,000,000
Arba Aith Sidar	105,000,000
Khemis-Jema Driuch	138,000,000
Khemis Ain Zorah	107,000,000
Had-Tlata-Khemis Thimsaman	240,000,000
Tlata Ikibdhanen	104,000,000
Had Jbil Arruwi	101,000,000
Taine-Khemis Thafarsith	78,000,000
Khemis Zaio	90,000,000

SOURCE: J. Cabello Alcaraz, *Apuntes de geografía de Marruecos* (Tetuán: Editora Marroquí, 1951), pp. 167–169.

out northern Africa must be described as alarming. In Morocco the mean annual increase is 1.5 per cent. This rapid increase creates serious economic problems, all the more so on account of the youth of the population, of whom 41 per cent are less than fifteen years old.[a] The spread of preventive medicine and the persistence of such social practices as early marriage and easy repudiation of sterile wives accentuate this trend. The cultivated area of northern Morocco has doubled in the last three decades,[b] but many tribes still find it impossible to grow enough food.

[a] Nevill Barbour, ed., *A Survey of North West Africa (the Maghrib)* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 81.

[b] *Anuario estadístico, 1958–59*, p. 91, cited in note 1.

1: Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East M1

able since much of it is not mountain at all, but open rolling country.

The Riffians are tough fighters. They won Spain for Franco, on a promise of freedom given them on the Yellow Plain of Ktama. One of them, ʿAbd el-Krīm's jailer, once told me that he gave the Christian prisoners dirt mixed in their bread; this is nothing to what the Christians have done to them, which, out of deference to the sensitivity of my readers, I shall not print here. Needless to say, the Riffians buried no one alive in anthills, nor have their women hacked any prisoners to shreds. Having never visited the Pathans, I cannot make the same denial for them with as much conviction, but until shown otherwise I shall continue to believe that these tales come out of the same volume of fiction.

Reading about the Pathans, however, reminds me much of the Riffians, with a few differences. The Riffians live in wetter and more fertile country, with more vegetation, and, although good Muslims, make little display of their religious feelings. They keep the fast and all the main feasts, adding a few of their own. The older men refuse to smoke, and some even refuse tea. They confined Jews to a few coastal settlements, notably Bades and Melilla, while Christians were not admitted at all, before the days of ʿAbd el-Krīm, who let in Gordon Canning, Vincent Sheean, and a few others without demanding previous conversion. One is told that the Pathans are "fanatical," but this again may be a form of general xenophobia channeled through the symbolic mechanism of religion.

The Pathans also are organized in tribes, divided into subtribes, partitioned into sections, split into clans, which are made up of patrilineal extended families.[9] Each family, clan, section, and subtribe has its head man, who represents his group in the *jirga*, or representative council of the group just above him. Like the Asht Arbaʿin, these councils convene to attempt to settle matters of dispute between their constituent members. Irrigation quarrels and cattle rustling are the chief business of the smaller jirgas, while adultery and murder draw the full tribal council, presided over by its chief officer, the khan. Like the amīn of a Kabyle village, he is often no more than a moderator. In case of murder, the killer flees the tribal territory at

[9] See H. Hörhager, *Die Volkstumsgrundlagen der Indischen nordwest-grenz Provinz* (Heidelberg, 1943). M. Elphinstone, *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul and Its Dependencies* (London, 1825). C. Collin Davies, *The Problem of the Northwest Frontier, 1890-1908.*